

The Journal of Law, Social Justice & Global Development

Special Issue Introduction: Gender and Development

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Article Information

Issue 21: 2018: *Special Issue* Gender and Development, ed. Ann Stewart.

This article was published on: 6th June 2018.

Journal ISSN: 1467-0437

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This special issue of the *Journal of Law, Social Justice & Global Development* (LGD) focuses on gender and development, drawing to a close a recent annual theme of Warwick University's Global Research Priority on International Development (GRP ID). The LGD aims to provide a home for cutting edge research on key issues that shape development in a profoundly unequal and conflict-ridden world; to promote knowledge exchange; and to enable scholars from the global South to present their work to a global audience. This collection of papers was selected from an open call for papers encouraging contributions from gender and feminist perspectives across the broadly defined field of development studies.

Despite a sustained attempt over more than three decades to 'mainstream' gender into analysis and policy, there is widespread recognition that this has not resulted in substantial reduction in gender-based violence, or reduced inequalities in the workplace or in households or within political institutions. This is not to deny the significant gains that have been made in some areas. The importance of gender equality to development initiatives was recognized in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and features more strongly as a standalone goal with targets within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). There is now a strong international women's human rights framework, although there are still substantial challenges in relation to observance and as yet no equivalent framework to tackle issues relating to human rights violations relating to sexuality and gender identity. There have been improvements in relations to girls' access to primary education, to maternal health and to reductions in absolute poverty. However, gender-based insecurities resulting from local and regional conflicts, and 'natural' disasters that are increasingly associated with climate change, are widespread and are producing new problems not least the mass movements of displaced peoples. The issues of security and migration present their own unique challenges, with the face of migrants often being male, leading to questions of gender inequality within the migration framework but also raising questions of the role of gender in the rise of populism and fundamentalism. Critical development analysis is much needed to

understand these challenges and to enrich policy development and advocacy in a complex and fragile world.

The papers in this collection reflect the breadth of gender perspectives in relation to development. The contributions by Faulkner and Russo address the way in which people and products are traded within the presently constituted global market. Each identifies the particularly gendered way in which these movements take place. Faulkner is concerned with one aspect of the unprecedented movement of people across national and international borders associated with what is now labelled as 'modern slavery'. As she points out 'the current refugee crisis in Europe, coupled with fears around trafficking, sexual slavery, extremism and national security have encouraged the proliferation of laws regulating cross-border movements'. The response has been to develop an 'expansive legal architecture ... to prevent illegal and irregular migration', which has reduced 'opportunities for legal authorised migration' and expanded a diversified market in 'clandestine services'. The emotive and politicised rhetoric of modern slavery allies it with human trafficking and in particular the trafficking of women. As Faulkner demonstrates the migration of women has long been associated with trafficking, dating back to the White Slavery Conventions of the early twentieth century. Migrant women are constructed primarily as trafficked women. She argues that the new abolitionist movement is highly contested within feminism. It contributes to a perception that the migration or movement of all women takes place through the processes associated with trafficking thereby shifting the focus from analysis of, and campaigns to support, the rights of women to migrate.

Russo is concerned with the way in which 'authentic craftswomen' are constructed within the neoliberal market place. She considers the way in which a Rajasthani women's co-operative which produces contemporary products using 'traditional' embroidery work negotiates with and is influenced by marketing its products to niche global north consumers. Development policy in recent times has replaced the needy woman receiving aid with the sturdily independent

rational economic woman accessing micro credit to improve her lot. The Rajasthani craftswomen can also be associated with another trope; that of the 'authentic native' marketing pre-modern culture for western consumption, thereby fostering indigenous artistic renewal. This creates a 'hybrid subjectivity' of 'rational economic woman', acting freely in the market and 'authentic native' reproducing unchanging pre-modern culture. Using the example of this co-operative, Russo explores the extent to which it is possible to create alternative economies which combat 'material exploitation within capitalism' and also 'counter act systems of social domination'. Heijthuyzen's article also shows in a different context the struggles over the identity of an authentic Egyptian woman during the recent Resistance.

A number of the papers explicitly or implicitly address the issue of agency. In recent years, there has been a growing consensus among policy makers concerned with gender issues within development to adopt an 'empowerment' model, underpinned by a rights based approach. To attract (minimal) human rights protections and to be 'rescued', migrant women, particularly those involved in the provision of commercialized sexual services, must be seen as 'victims' preyed on by 'villains' in the form of criminal gangs and in need of a 'rescuer'. While women co-operative members exercise considerable agency in their negotiations with the market, they and their traditional crafts are 'saved' by ethically minded global north consumers.

Heijthuyzen in her article explores women's involvement in the Egyptian uprising and the way in which sexual violence against women has been understood by different constituencies in post-revolutionary Egypt. As both Heijthuyzen and Williamson point out, there has been a very uneasy relationship between nationalism and feminism. Heijthuyzen explores the way in which authoritarian power structures intersect with patriarchal power structures. Women were required to negotiate often conflicting political agendas: confronting sexual violence and opposing authoritarianism. The latter encouraged silence on the former to preserve the reputation

of the revolution while a sole focus on the former, a position supported by international organisations tended to lead to a demand for more state security presence on the streets. Some Egyptian women's organisations sought to address the intersectionality by shifting the understanding of sexual violence from the private to the public sphere in order to recognize the links between authoritarianism and patriarchal power relations and working within coalitions.

Williamson's focus is on the lack of ability among Kuwaiti women to pass nationality on to non-Kuwaiti husbands and their children. As Williamson indicates in her article, Kuwait is economically 'developed' but features far less well in relation to social and political indicators relating to gender equality and development. Although she does not focus on this point it is clear that Kuwait's position in the world economy, and the role of migration, is an important background to understand. Williamson adopts a socio-legal perspective through which to explore this issue. In particular, she solicits the views of a group of 'elite' young men and women as constituted by university law students to explore the reasons why there seems to be little appetite for change, although she also indicates that there may now be more within wider circles. Interestingly, young women are not keen to establish agency – to be fully acting subject citizens – in relation to potential or actual husbands. In contrast, they do want to be able to pass their nationality on to their children. The fear of male 'foreigners' duping women into marriage and therefore exploiting them is a key justification. Kuwaiti women, particularly elite women, must be saved from predatory foreigners.

Most of the authors reflect in one way or another on the role of the state in constructing and/or addressing gender relations. Feminists working in the area of gender, law and development have identified the complex position of the post-colonial state. A 'rescue' agenda often involves more regulation as Faulkner points out or more policing on the streets as Heijthuyzen indicates. In general, we have seen the development of more securitized and militarized forms of governance with the rise of populism and fundamentalism,

none of which leaves much space within political discourse for tackling gender based power relationships. States reinforce inequality, as Williamson indicates so clearly in her discussion of the Kuwaiti state's opposition to reforming the laws relating to citizenship despite constitutional commitments to equality (and the exact extent of this commitment is addressed by Williamson).

This theme is picked up in Mamad and Foubet's very rich discussion of early marriages in Mozambique. Mozambique has signed up to both the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Child Rights Convention, both of which prohibit early marriages and has enacted legislation stipulating 18 as the age for marriage yet early marriage, as young as 15, is the norm in many parts of the country. In their chapter they explore the way in which exceptions within the Marriage Act enable parents to consent on behalf of their underage children and highlight the way in which the state incorporates alternative norms which support early marriage within the legal system. As in Egypt, Mamad and Foubet suggest shifting the focus for intervention from the private domain of family law, which focuses on interpersonal relationships, to public provision relating to social protection. They make a strong case for using the development focused social protection floor framework which is designed to 'leave no one behind' to provide the economic and social resources needed to address the reasons for early marriages. The present three-pronged framework (unconditional cash transfers, social action for health and social action for education) does not include girl children at risk of early marriage as an independent risk in the eligibility criterion of a 'vulnerable' child. They point to the life cycle vulnerability that early marriage creates for girls and women. It often leads to curtailment in schooling leading to life-long economic disadvantage, increases long lasting problems with health significantly, and reinforces gendered cultural norms based upon presumptions relating to women's lack of agency.

The importance of understanding gender issues within the life cycle is taken up by Camilletti, Banati and Cook in their review of research on

children's roles in social reproduction. As the authors point out, the issue of care has moved up the development agenda largely due to the sustained advocacy by gender based groups and civil society organisations. The relationship between production and social reproduction, in particular the way in which many caring activities are seen as 'unproductive' and not counted in national systems of accounting, is being recognized as important to the achievement of development objectives. The Sustainable Development Goal relating to Equality (Goal 5) explicitly recognizes the need to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care. It is clear that much of the unequal burden of caring falls on women. However these authors turn their attention to the role of children in the provision of care 'both within and beyond the household'. They review the literature on the topic from a development perspective. As they point out, childhood for very many children in the global south is not expected to be labour free and a time of learning and play, but is seen as a time for involving young people in collective activities which provide 'important preparation from the future'.

The value of adopting a care perspective is that it reveals the importance of caring relationships throughout the life course and highlights the interconnectedness of us all. We all need and receive care to sustain our well-being; societies are unsustainable without such reciprocal caring. The authors therefore highlight both the importance of understanding the costs that excessive care responsibilities in childhood can have over the life course and also the benefits that contributing to caring relationships at an early age can bring. They demonstrate the need to understand the intersection between gender, age and location. Girls tend to undertake more and different responsibilities to boys and these increase as girls move through adolescence. Children living in rural settings tend to do more than their urban counterparts but not always. Boys do undertake care responsibilities particularly when there is no older sibling. The authors highlight the vulnerability of child domestic workers. The authors' comprehensive review supports the need for more research on this topic to understand the intersections more

clearly and, as the authors stress, to establish the threshold at which involvement in caring responsibilities become burdensome for children.

The importance of addressing gender issues across the life course, and adopting an intersecting inequalities perspective, underpins many of these contributions. The debates within feminist and gender studies over the way in which 'recognition' (associated with identity politics) and 'redistribution' (associated with materialist politics) interact has matured and is being addressed increasingly in development policy making and within gender advocacy organisations. As the authors demonstrate, we need to understand the way in which gender power relations intersect with other processes that produce enduring inequalities such as ethnicity, gender identity and sexuality, caste, and disability. We need to move beyond seeing each as a distinct group, and then somehow adding up the oppression and disadvantage that flows from combinations, to understanding the way in which particular processes produce inequalities over a life course. A girl child, assumed to be heterosexual, and married too young, can face a life time of disadvantage. A boy child, in an impoverished rural area and caring for a range of younger siblings, can be equally but differently disadvantaged. Understanding violence on the streets of Egypt purely as 'private' and gender-based fails to create an intersectional politics that will address authoritarianism.

As these contributions demonstrate, it is not only necessary to understand the way in which global economic processes interact with the disempowerment of culturally marginalized communities and reinforce gender based inequalities, but also to learn from and support those who are struggling everyday with the consequences of these processes.

Acknowledgement: **Maria Eugenia Giraudo** was administrator for this special issue, and the editors-in-Chief as well as the special issue editor are extremely grateful for her commitment and editorial skills.

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